THE STATE OF EUROPE

Des Our Own Correspondent.
LONDON, Friday, Jan. 27, 1860. The details of the Commercial treaty between England and France direct public attention from all other topics. Even the Reform and Rifle corps movement have lest their interest. They are looked apon as being placed beyond any further danger, and will be dealt with without excitement in the most business-like manner. I need not say that Mapeleon is now again the " great ally," and if he bould visit London, would be greeted even more eartily than during the Crimean campaign. Italy hikewise believed to be safe. Parliament met under the most auspicious circumstances, and the Ultramontanists in Ireland and Austria find now that their hopes of Lord Palmerston's overthrow by the Pope's Irish Brass Band at Westminster were founded upon a wrong estimate of the Parlia-mentary forces. Everybody expects, with the greatest avidity, Mr. Gladstone's financial statement, which is to be of a comprehensive character, lecking to the future as well as to the immediate wants of the Administration. On the Continent, however, there is another question of greater importance than the English budget, which occupies people's mit de, viz: Whether there is to be a war mselves have great misgivings, since they have at last found out that the Archdukes were sold at Villafranca, in spite of the reservation of their rights at Zurich. Francis Joseph, personally inclined to become a friend of Napoleon, did not suspect treachery for a long time. His army went quietly away from Italy, the horses of the artillery were advertised for sale, the conscription of recruits for 1850 was suspended, much to the comfort of the officials in Hungary, who knew that it would have led to bloody collisions, and Baron Bruck, the unlucky Minister of Finance. at last found out that the Archdukes were sold at Baron Bruck, the unlucky Minister of Finance, drew up a peace budget after he had received the order of the Emperor that the deficiency should cease to disfigure the Austrian estimates. Even the publication of the famous pamphlet could not disturb the placid equanimity of the Austrian Cabinet. But Walewski's dismissal and Count Cavour's accession to office created at once a revulsion. Francis Jo-seph believes now firmly that his plans as to the Catholic League will be cut short by Cavour, who is to attack Venetia in Spring. Rifled cannon are accordingly sent to Verona, the garrisons of Venetia are reënforced, the sale of government horses is stopped, and the reorganization of the army, topped, and the reorganization of the army, by an addition of twelve regiments of the line, and the reduction of the fourth battalions, which is to make the troops more manageable, is now hastened with the utmost speed. The fact that one of the twelve new Colonelcies is bestowed upon the pretender of Tuscany, shows the despair of the Cabinet that restoration can be accomplished without interference; for, if he ever had any chance of being recalled by the vote of a majority of the Tuscans, he has lost it by identifying himself thoroughly with the hated Austrian army. The Vienna Cabinet is, however, still in the hope that Venetia will be invaded solely by the Sardinian army, and that Austria, in conjunction with Naples, Venetia will be invaded solely by the Sardinian army, and that Austria, in conjunction with Naples, will be able not only to hold her own, but even to reconquer the Romagna and the Duchies, if not Lombardy, This hope is principally founded upon the regard with which the Austrian Embassador, Prince Metternich, is treated by Napoleon and his Court, and upon an alleged Imperial dislike to Cavour. Napoleon has, besides, entered into a domestic strife with the priests and the protectionists, and as he is not the man to have too many irons in the fire at the same time, it is believed that he will not go beyond a friendly neutrality toward Sardinia, if she yond a friendly neutrality toward Sardinia, if she should really invade Venetia. On the other hand, we read that the French army in Italy is to be reenforced, and that the sale of the French Govern-ment stores at Leghorn has been stopped. It is likewise not without significance that the semi-official Patrie gives extracts from Kossuth's letter to the Glasgow Committee, and devotes a leading article to the Governor, showing that he never has been a revolutionist, but always a patriot. Even the continu-al reproduction of the Anti-Austrian correspondence from Hungary in the French papers, shows sufficiently that the spirit of French policy remains as hostile to Austria as it was last year in Winter. Accord-ingly, I should not be astonished to hear that Napoleon had made up his mind to make a second Italian campaign before the Catholic league has consolidated itself. The first step must now of course be the complete annexation of the Duchies and of the Romagna to Sardinia. This event will be followed by a protest from Vienna, and the withdrawal of the Austrian Embassador from Turin; an excommunication from Rome may likewise be expected. As soon as France and England recognize this annexation, there will be a second pro-test of Austria founded on the treaty of Zurich, between the Cabinets of Vienna and of the Tuileries will be sure to follow. Now, according to the circumstances of the season and the requirements of France, these communications may end in smoke, and leave "Italy to the Italians," or Napoleon may pick a quarrel and once more cross the Alps. The famous quadrilateral would not, in this campaign, be of the same importance as in the former one, when the Romagna belonged by right to the neutral Pope; but as soon as this province is incorporated with Sardinia, a Franco-Italian army may cross the Po, on its lower course, and, turning the quad-rilateral, march straight upon Venice and the Isonzo. This strategical significance of the Ro-magna is probably the key to the revolution of the province, and to the forbearance with which Napo-leon has looked upon her separation from the States of the Church. As to Sardinia, there is scarcely of the Church. any deubt that Cavour will pursue that policy of

duced the Emperor of Austria to cross the Ticino, and might this year induce him to cross the Mincio. GREAT BRITAIN.

THE NEW TREATY BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND. Poten an Occasional Correspondent.

LONDON, Jan. 28, 1860.

The commercial treaty with France will not be communicated to the House of Commons before the 6th of February. Still, with what was broached during the address debates-with what is insinuated by the French papers, and with what is gossiped at London and Paris, one may, Mr. Gladstone's solemn warnings notwithstanding, already venture upon some general appreciation of this "sweet "changeling." It was on Monday, the 22d of January, that the treaty was duly signed at Paris, Rouher, Minister of Commerce, and Baroche, ad interim Minister of Foreign Affairs, acting as its French godfathers, while, on the part of England, the same function was performed by Lord Cowley and Mr. Cobden. That Mr. Michel Chevalierthe ex-St. Simonian-had his hand in the pie, and that general regret is felt throughout the whole realm of France that Louis Nappleon had not the tact of allowing this distinguished personage (viz: Mr. Chevalier) to inscribe his name to the treaty by the side of his English confrére," is a piece of news which that "distinguished personage" himself was so condescending as to send over to London and have inserted in the various free-trade organs. But, what is not known by the journals, is that Pere Enfantin, the ex-high-priest of St. Simonism, was the principal actor on the French side. Is it not truly wonderful how those St. Simonians, from Père Enfarin down to Isaac Pereira and Michel Chevalier, have been turned into the main economical pillars of the second Empire. But to return to Mr. Chevalier's "English confrère," the Lancashire ex-manu-"English confrère," the Lancashire ex-manufacturer, who, of course, felt not a little elated at the honor of putting his own sign-manual to an international treaty. If one should consider the circumstance that reciprocity treaties, and commercial treaties generally, save the treaties with barbarians, have always been leading ties with barbarians, have always been loudly denounced by the English free-traders, led by Mr. Cobden, as the worst and most perfidious form of protectionism; if it be further considered

that the present treaty, even judged from the reciprocity stand-point, seems a rather ludicrous arrangement; and, lastly, if the political aims and purposes the treaty is destined to screen be duly weighed, people might feel inclined to pity Mr. Richard Cobden as the innocent victim of a Palmerstonian machination. Yet there is another side to the medal. Mr. Cobden, as is generally known, did once receive, in exchange for his Anti-Corn law success, some £60,000 sterling on the part of the grateful manufacturing interest. Mr. Cobden invested the principal in American shares, and, consequent upon the crisis of 1857, lost almost everything. The hopes he still cherished when setting out on his voyage to the United States, proved delusory. Mr. Cobden returned to England a ruined man. To appeal to a national subscription some national pretext was wanted, some transaction that might be puffed, and again exhibit Mr. Cobden in the light of the guardian angel of the United Kingdom, "securing plenty and comfort to millions of lowly households." Well, the Anglo-French treaty did the thing, and, as you will see, from the provincial papers. a new subscription to the amount of did the thing, and, as you will see, from the provin-cial papers, a new subscription to the amount of £40,000, intended to compensate the great free-trade apostle for his American losses, already free-trade apostic for his American losses, already goes the round very "feelingly." There is no doubt that if Disraeli, for instance, had introduced to the Commons such a treaty, Mr. Cobden at the head of the free-traders would have risen to move for a vote of non-confidence in a Cabinet attempting to carry the legislation back to the darkest fallacies

of the unenlightened past.

From the following tables the number of protective duties levied during the year 1858 by En

and on French articles may be interred	2574
The second secon	The same
Baskets	2 2,061
Rutter	7,159
Chips and Porce ain Ware	1,671
Clocks	
Coffee	4,311
Ergs	19.984
Fmbroidery	5,572
Flowers, artificial	20,412
Fruit	
Lace	1,858
Boots, Shoes, and other Leather Manufactures	. 8,888
Glover	. 48,889
Musical Instruments	
Oil, chemical	
Paper-Hangings	6,713
Platting of Straw, for hats, &c	11,622
80kg	210 409
Brandy and other Spirits	824,9.0
Sugar	275,702 14,358
Tea	11 12 12 12 12 12 12 12
Tebacco	
Watches	
Wire	
out of the duties thus levied were	protect

duties, as those on baskets, clocks, lace, gloves, silks, etc. Others, like the duties on brandy, etc., were higher than the English excise duty on British spirits, and so far protective. Even mere duties for revenue, such as the duty on wine, might be considered by a consequent Free-trader as pro-tective duties, because it is almost impossible to levy taxes on a foreign article without protecting some similar, if not identical, article in the home market. For instance, a revenue duty on foreign wine may be considered a protective duty for native beer, etc. By dint of the treaty just concluded all British duties on French manufactures will be abolished at once, while the duties on brandy, wine, and other articles, will be assimilated to English excise duties, or to the Custom-House duty now raised on similar products (wine for instance) if intro-duced from British colonies. On the other hand, the French changes of tariff will not be completely carried out before October, 1861, as will be seen from the following statement, borrowed from a French Government paper:
July 1, 1860-Suppression of the import duties on cotton and

July 1, 1860—Belgian tariff applied to English coal and coke. October 1, 1860—Duty of 7 france the 100 kilogs, substituted for the present duties on from.

December 31, 1880—Diminution of the duties on the importa-

tion of machinery.

January 1, 1851-Removal of the prohibition on hemp threads and fabrics, and the adoption of daties not exceeding 30 per cent.
October 1, 1861—Removal of all other prohibitions, to be replaced by protective duties ad calorem for five years, and not exceeding 25 per, cent afterward.
Save the reduction of the duty on English coal to

Save the reduction of the duty on English coal to the same rate now paid by Belgian coal, all the con-cessions apparently made by France appear of a very equivocal character. The price of a tun of pig iron No. 1 (Wales) amounts, for instance, at present, to £3 10/, but the French duty on iron will amount to £3 10/, but the French duty on iron will amount to nearly another £3. That the 30 per cent ad valorem duty on prohibited articles will be virtually protective is conceded by The London Economist. So far as the reductions, real or apparent, on English articles are put off to future periods, the English Government acts, in fact, the part of an insurance office for Louis Napoleon's tenure of power for the terms specified. The true secret, however, of the commercial treaty, viz: that "it is so commercial treaty at all," but a simple hoax, intended to puzzle John Bull's commercial mind, and to cloak a deep-laid political scheme, has been masterly ex-

deep-laid political scheme, has been masterly exposed by Mr. Disraeli during the address debates. The substance of his revelation was this:

"Some years ago, the Emperor of the French made a communication similar to the letter lately addressed by him to the Minister of the Interior, in which communication he proceed the entire extinction of the munication he proposed the entire extinction of the prohibitive system, and the adoption of measurer similar to those centained in his late manifesto. In 1866, a bill in this sense was introduced into the Corpa Législatif, but, before being passed, was laid before the 86 Provincial Councils of France, which, with the exception of 6, all adopted the proposal with an understanding that a certain period of time should elspee before the new system should be brought into play. Consequently, the Emperor agreeing with this proposition, some public document expressed his resolution to carry this system into effect, and appointed July, 1861, as the period with which it should commence. All, therefore, that France engages by the treaty to do in July, 1861, was already provided by the course of law in France."

ENGLISH POLITICS. orrespondence of The N. Y. Tribune. LONDON, Jan. 27, 1860.

The most interesting topics touched upon in the parliamentary address debates were the third Chinese war, the commercial treaty with France, and the Italian complication. The Chinese question, it ought to be understood, involves not only an international question, but also a constitutional question of vital import. The second Chinese war, undertaken on the arbitrary behest of Lord Palmerston, having led first to a vote of censure against his Cabinet, and then to a fercible dissolution of the House of Commons-the new House, although elected under his own auspices, was never called upon to cashier the sentence passed by its predecessor. To this very moment Lord Palmerston's second Chinese war stands condemned by a parliamentary verdict. But this is not all.

On the 16th of September, 1859, the ac count of the repulse on the Peiho was received in England. Instead of summoning Parliament, Lord Palmerston addressed himself to Louis Bons parte, and conversed with the autocrat on a new Anglo-French expedition against China. "During three months," as Lord Grey says, "the British "ports and arsenals resounded with the din of preparation, and measures were taken for dis patching artillery, stores, and gun-boats to China, and for sending land forces of not less than 10,000 "men, in addition to the naval forces." The country having thus been fairly embarked in a new war, n the one hand by a treaty with France, on th other by a vast expenditure incurred without any previous communication to Parliament, the latter, previous communication to Parliament, the latter, on its meeting, is coolly asked "to thank her "Majesty for having informed them of what had "occurred, and the preparations that were "making for the expedition to China." In what different style could Louis Napoleon himself have addressed his own corps législatif, or the Emperor Alexander his senate?

In the debate on the address in the House

peror Alexander his senate?

In the debate on the address in the House of Commons in 1857, Mr. Gladstone, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, with reference to the Persian war, had indignantly exclaimed: "I will say, without fear of contradiction, that the practice of commencing without fear referring to Parliament, is utwars, without first referring to Parliament, is ut-terly at variance with the established practice of the country, dangerous to the Constitution, and absolutely requiring the intervention of this House, in order to render the repetition of so dangerous a praceeding utterly impossible." Lord Palmer-"a proceeding utterly impossible." Lord Palmer-ston has not only repeated the proceeding, "so dan-"gerous to the Constitution;" he has not only re-peated it this time with the concurrence of the sanc-timonious Mr. Gladstone, but as if to try the

strength of ministerial irresponsibility, wielding the rights of Parliament against the Crown, the prerogatives of the Crown against Parliament and the privileges of both against the pesple—he had the boldness to repeat the dangerous proceeding within the same sphere of action. His sne Chinese war being censured by the Parliament, he undertakes another Chinese war in spite of Parliament. Still, in both Houses, only one man mistered courage in both Houses, only one man mistered courage enough to make a stand against this ministerial usurpation; and, curiously to say, that one man be-longing not to the popular, but to the aristocratic branch of the Legislature. The man is Lord Grey. He proposed an amendment to the address in answer to the Queen's speech to the purport that the expedition ought not to have been entered upon before the sense of both Houses of Parliament as taken. The manner in which Lord Grey's amend-

ment was met, both by the spokesman of the ministerial party and the leader of her the ministerial party and the leader of her Majesty's opposition, is highly characteristic of the political crisis which the representative institutions of England are rapidly approaching. Lord Grey conceded that, in a formal sense, the Crown enjoyed the preregative of entering upon wars, but since ministers were interdicted from spending one single farthing on any enter prise without the previous sanction of Parliament, it was the constitutional law and practice that the respectively representatives of the Crown should responsible representatives of the Crown should never enter upon warlike expeditions before notice having been given to Parliament, and the latter been called upon to make provision for defraying the expenditure which might be thus incurred. Thus, if the council of the nation thought fit, it might check, in the beginning, any tojust or impoli-tic war contemplated by ministers. His Lordship quoted then some examples in order to show how strictly these rules were formerly adhered to. In 1790, when some British vessels were seized by the Spaniards on the north-west coast of Amer-ica, Pitt brought down to both Houses a message from the Crown calling for a vote of credit sage from the Crown calling for a vote of credit to meet the probable expenses. Again in December 1826, when the daughter of Don Pedro applied to England for assistance against Ferdinand VII. of Spain, who intended an invasion of Portugal to the benefit of Don Miguel, Canning brought down a similar message notifying to Parliament the nature of the case and the amount of expenditure likely to be incurred. In conclusion Lord Grey broadly intimated that the ministry had dared to raise taxes upon the country without the concurrence of Parliament, since the large expenditure already incurred must have been defrayed one way or other; and red must have been defrayed one way or other; and could not have been defrayed without encroaching upon money-grants provided for entirely different de-

mands.

Now which sort of reply did Lord Grey elicit on the part of the cabinet? The Duke of Newcastle, who had been foremost in protesting against the lawfulness of Palmerston's second Chinese war, answered in the first instance that "the very wholesome practice had arisen of "late years of never moving an amendment to the tradders, upless some great narty object, was to be 'address, unless some great party object was to be 'attained." Consequently, Lord Grey being not prompted by factious motives, and pretending not to aspire to put Ministers out in order to put himself in, what, for the life of the Duke of Newcastle could be mean by infringing upon that "very whole "some practice of late years"? Was be crotchety could he mean by infringing upon that," very whole"some practice of late years"? Was he crotchety
enough to fancy that they were to break lances except for great party objects? In the second instance,
was it not notorious that the constitutional practice,
so anxiously adhered to by Pitt and Canning, had
been over and over again departed from by Lord
Palmerston? Had that noble Viscount not carried
on a war of his own in Portugal in 1831, in Greece
in 1850, and, as the Duke of Newcastle
might have added, in Persia, in Affghanista
and in many other countries? Why, if and in many other countries? Wh Parliament had allowed Lord Palmerston to Parliament had allowed Lord Palmerston to usurp to himself the right of war and peace and taxation during the course of thirty years. Why, then, should they all at once try to break from their long servile tradition? Constitutional law might be on the side of Lord Grey, but prescription was undoubtedly on the side of Lord Palmerston. Why call the noble Viscount to account at this time of the day, since never before had he been punished for similar "wholesome" innovations? In fact, for similar "wholesome" innovations? In fact the Duke of Newcastle seemed rather indulgent in the Duke of Newcastle seemed rather indugent in not accusing Lord Grey of rebellion for his attempt at breaking through Lord Palmerston's prescriptive privilege of doing with his own—the forces and the money of England—as he liked.

Equally original was the manner in which the Duke of Newcastle endeavored to prove the legality

of the Peiho@xpedition. There exists an Anglo-Chinese treaty of 1843, by dint of which England enjoys all the rights conceded by the Celestials to the most favored naions. Now Russia, in her recent treaty with China has stipulated for the right of sailing up the Peiho. Consequently, under the treaty of 1843, the English had a right to such passage. This, the Duke of Newcastle said, he might insist upon "without any great" special pleading." Might be, indeed! On the one side there is the ugly circumstance that the Russian treaty was only ratified, and, consequently dates its actual existence only from an epoch posterior to the Peiho catastrophe. This, of course, is but a slight hasteron proteron. On the other hand, it is generally known that a state of war suspends all existrally known that a state of war suspends an existing treaties. If the English were at war with the Chinese at the time of the Peiho expedition, they, of course, could appeal neither to the treaty of 1843, nor to any other treaty whatever. If they were not at war, Palmerston's Cabinet has taken upon itself to commence a new Cabinet has taken upon itself to commence a new war without the sanction of Parliament? To escape the latter power of the dilemma, poor Newcastle asserts ithat since the Canton bombardment, for the last two years, "England had never been at "peace with China." Consequently the Ministry had pushed on hostilities, not recommenced them, and consequently he might, without special pleadand consequently he might, without special pleasing, appeal to the treaties effective only during a time of peace. And to highten the beauty of this queer sort of dialectics, Lord Palmerston, the chief of the Cabinet, asserts at the same time, in the House of Commons, that England all this time over, "had never been at war with China." They were not so n.w. There were, of course, Canton bord bardments, Peiho catastrophes, and Anglo-French expeditions, but there was no war, since war had expeditions, but there was no war, since war had never been declared, and since, to this moment, the Emperor of China had allowed transactions at Shanghae to proceed in their usual course. The very fact of his having broken, in recourse. The very fact of his having broken, in re-gard to the Chinese, through all the legitimate inter-national forms of war, Palmerston pleads as a reason for dispensing also with the constitutional forms in regard to the British Parliament, while his spokes regard to the British Parliament, while his spokes-man in the House of Lords, Earl Granville, "with "regard to China," disdainfully declares "the con-"sultation of Parliament by Government" to be "a "purely technical point." The consultation of Parliament by Government a purely technical point!
What difference, then, does still remain between a
British Parliament and a French Corps Legislatif?
In France, it is, at least, the presumed heir of a
national hero who dares to place himself in the place of the nation, and who at the same time openly confronts all the dangers of such usurpation. But, confronts all the dangers of such usurpation. in England, it is some subaltern spokesman, som worn-out place-hunter, some annoymous nonentity of a so-called Cabinet, that, relying on the donkey power of the Parliamentary mind and the bewilderpower of the Parliamentary mind and the bewinder-ing evaporations of an anonymous press, without making any noise, without incurring any danger, quietly creep their way to irresponsible power. Take on the one hand the commotions raised by a Sulla; take on the other the fraudulent business-like maneuvers of the manager of a joint stock bank, the secretary of a benevolent society, or the clerk of a vestry, and you will understand the difference between imperialist usurpation in France and ministerial usurpation in Endifference between imperialist usurpation in France and ministerial usurpation in England! Lord Derby, fully aware of the equal interest both factions have in securing ministerial impotence and irrespon sibility, could, of course, "not concur with the "noble Earl [Grey] in the strong views which h "takes of the laches of Government." He could not quite concur in Lord Grey's complaint that "the Government ought to have called Parliament "together to have consulted them on the Chinese "the Government ought to have "together, to have consulted them on the Chinese "question," but he "certainly would not support 'question," but he "certainly would not su 'him by his vote, should he press the amend

Consequently, the amendment was not pressed to a division, and the whole debate, in both Houses, on the Chinese war, evaporated in grotesque com-pliments showered by both factions on the head of

Admiral Hope for having so gloriously buried the English forces in the mud.

IMPUNITY ON AMERICAN VESSELS.

In the House of Commons, on Friday, Ian. 27, Mr. Milkes asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what measures had been adopted with regard to the address presented to her Majesty on the 2d of August, 1839, by this House, praying her Majesty to enter into negotiations with the United States of America, for the purpose of preventing the assanits and cruelities committed on merchant seamen in American vessels; and called the attention of the House to some recent occurreces of that nature. He said that very soon after the adoption of the address, a sailor named Antonio had cied in the hospital at Liverpool, after injuries received on board an American vessel. A solicitor attended the inquest on behalf of the Government of the United States, and denied the jurisdiction of the Court, alleging that no one but Americans had anything to do with the affair. If, indeed, the man had been kifled on beard the vessel, it would have been a case of murder within American jurisdiction; but as he had died in Liverpool of injuries inflicted on the voyage, no jury could bring in a verdict other than "Found dead," which was the result that was eventually arrived at. These events had occurred with frightful frequency, but he would only refer to one more. On the 14th of January last, two mates of the bark Anna were taken before the Isle of Wight magistrates, charged with having done to death no fewer than six sailors; in other words, half their crew. A solicitor named Stokes attended, and, stating that he was the agent of the Bench. The magistrates had been blamed for diecharging the prisoners; but he (Mr. Milnes) thought that that blame was very unjust, for they really had no alternat ve, as the law stood between the two countries. He felt sure that the American people must feel the disprace of this state of things even more than we did; and he hoped, therefore, that an alteration would be speedly made. [Hear, hear.]

Lord J. Russell—With respect to the question put to me by the honorable gentl IMPUNITY ON AMERICAN VESSELS.

friend (Mr. M. Milner) has asked me a question upon a subject of great interest and importance, with regard to which he brought forward an address last year, and it was adopted by this House. I immediately communicated with my right honorable friend, the Home Secretary; and I believe it was his opinion that it would be of advantage if the negotiations were conducted in this country with some lawyer of experience from the United States. Accordingly I wrote to Lord Lyons, and he received an answer that it was the opinion of the American Government that the magofrom the United States. Accordingly I wrote to Indian Lyons, and he received an answer that it was the opinion of the American Government that the negotiations could not be intrusted to better hands than those of the able and enlightened representative of the United States in this country, Mr. Dallas. [Hear, hear.] My right honorable friend has, therefore, had interviews with Mr. Dallas on the subject. They felt, as every man in this House, and I have no doubt in America also, must feel, that some remedy ought to be found for a state of things so shocking and that an attempt should be made to purish the authors of those acts of ourage and cruelty which takes place on board American vessels. They were agreed as to the principle upon which that remedy should be applied; and there is now drawing up the draft of a convention with a view to carry their views into effect. I think it would be premature to enter into the details of that convention at the present moment; but when it is convention at the present moment; but when it is agreed to and ratified no time will be lost in bringing in a bill to obtain the object which my honorable friend has so properly advocated. [Cheers.]

FRANCE.

Frem Our Own Correspondent. PARIS, Jan. 26, 1860.

The politice-economical questions raised by the Emperor's letter to Minister Fould, occupy public attention this week in successful rivalry with the Question Romaine. The Moniteur Industriel publiabes, and other papers copy, an altogether remarkable address to the Emperor from the manufacturers of Lille, Roubaix, Rouen, and other industrial centers. The object of it is to protest against that part of the Imperial programme that relates to reduction of prohibitory to moderate duties on woolens and cottons, cloths and yarns. The argument of it is, that the "programme" contains not only a gross economical error, but a moral one; that his Majesty is pressing on a measure not only contrary to their interests, but, in the time and manner of it, at least, contrary to his promises publicly given. Without indulging in the violent rhetoric of the bishops, the spinners and weavers are equally bold, and more plain and direct than the prelates. Read:

'Thus, the promise had been made and repeated but a few months ago, that the question would not be decided until the representatives of the manufacturing interests of the country had been heard in a preliminary examination. And yet, what happens? Your Majesty is going to change from top to bottom the most important articles of our customs laws. Is going to effect these enormous changes without any preliminary investigation, without our being heard, without our having been able to obtain a hearing. We ask you, then, Sire, what becomes of the promised investigation which we had a right to depend upon? (A laquelle nous arons du nous fier.) It is not my business to discuss here the conomical question, noe the question of veracity. I only point out as a curiosity this remarkable piece of plain speaking to Imperial ears, which, since they were Imperial, have not heard the like." the country had been heard in a preli

If the worthy fabricants had shown, any time in the past ten years, half the zeal and boldness in defense of common rights that they now display in de-fense of their pockets, one could admire them. As it is, their protests and grumblings, and beseiging of ministers (there were more than 400 of them come up to Paris in these last days to plead their lost cause), and other attempts to change Napoleon's mind are like to prove mere waste of power. He has thought over his measures and decided upon their main features long ago; and only awaited the favorable moment for inaugurating them, which now he thinks has come. He has so combined them, as appears in the programme, that, however, much certain of them may offend the real interests. or the fancied interests of certain classes, they will, as a whole, meet the approbation of the people as a whole. His economical policy may be wrong; it is calulated skillfully to appear right to the great mass of Frenchmen who are not enlisted by direct interest or theoretical opinion in the prohibitionist camp, northe free traders' camp. That the dis-content of the manufacturers of Lille and Mulhouse and Rouen should amount to an alarming political disaffection, is not a possibility likely to seep the Emperor awake nights. Should they b come as warm friends of the Papal temporalities as Monsieur Villemain and other recent converts from Orleanism to Ultramentanism and Legitimism, it would not greatly effect the Emperor's home nor foreign policy. In both cases he is carry-ing the national feeling with him. Meantime, if Lille is discontent, Bordeaux is delighted; if the programme provokes protests from Rouen and Mulhouse, it calls forth addresses of felicitation from Marseilles and Nantes; if the operatives in the manufacturing towns are alarmed by stories of the closing of factories, the ouvriers of other towns lick their lips with pleasure in anticipation of cheap-ened sugar and coffee. More thoughtful folks say, with a show of reason, the manufacturers have had a century of prohibition and high protective tariff— a long enough time to solidly establish themselves; they have had three or four years warning of a coming change; they yet have a year or two to prepare for it; if, with all this, they are not able to bear a competition still largely qualified by a considerable duty on foreign products, tant pus pour cux. If, with labor as cheap, and the raw material as cheap as the English, and an unlimited right of improving their mechanical processes, they cannot bear concurrence with English enterprise, let them go to the wall. Our merchants and wine-growers will gain more than the fabricants lose. Besides, the "programme" is not to be judged by its separate measures, but to be taken in its ensemble; the commercial treaty with England, if it let in yarns and cloths one of these days, lets out our wines;

but especially the new system rests upon agricul tural reform and widely-extended internal improve I discuss the argument of the thoughtful moderate folks as little as that of the alarmed prohibition-ists. I only report that, so far as I can discover,

there is a general moderate satisfaction with the programme. As I said last week, the industrial Protestants seem to me more agitated than injured. Whatever changes are made will be made cautiously, gradually, and with sufficient premonitory bell-ringing. Their trepidation is rather laughable to an American like myself, who "hath had losses" by sudden cutting down of tariffs in past times. If we spinners, and weavers, and iron-workers could have had fifty years of all the protection and then three or four years to turn round in and prepare

three or four years to turn round in and prepare for a change!

There is one feature in or rather out of the programme which has been remarked upon here, and openly, with protest, by men whose thoughts are not all tangled up with woollen and cotton yarn. This programme, which acquires a sort of grandeur by the extent and completeness of its announced reforms, deals with purely material developement. It says nothing of the famous liberty-wreath with which his Majesty formerly expressed so ardent a desire to crown his political edifice. Something indeed is promised for the restoration of Cathedrals and for the encouragement of sciences and fine arts; but nothing is hinted at in the way of giving a "lively impulse to the development" of primary a "lively impulse to the development" of primary ducation in France. In this "nation at the head "of the civilization of the world," as Frenchmen "of the civilization of the world," as Frenchmen are fond of boasting—the "only nation that fights "for an idea," as his Majesty swaggeringly remarked after withdrawing from the Italian fight—in this nation, one-third of the grown up men and more than half of the women cannot read and write; and the whole annual appropriation by the State for primary education amounts to only a little over a million dollars.

over a million dollars.
On the agricultural side, the programme is better. On the agricultural side, the programme is better. How much the country stands in need of reform in this respect strikingly appears in a report addressed by the Ministers of Finance, of Agriculture, and of Public Works, to the Emperor, in response to one of the demands of his recent letter. From the time of Heary IV. down to 1857, the successive Governments have vainly devised laws and measures for bringing into culture the waste communal lands. What they all amounted to may be inferred from the fact, of which the three Ministers assure us, that the sum of lands owned by the Communes today amounts to 4,720,000 hectares—the hectare, day amounts to 4,720,000 hectares-the hectare, you will recollect, equals two and a half acres, nearly. Of this immense surface—almost one-eleventh of the superficies of the whole country—coueleventh of the superficies of the whole country—considerably more than one-half is under no cultivation whatever, and yields a revenue of less than 3 francs per hectare. The plan which Ministers propose for bringing these lands to a more productive condition is very possibly as good a one as could be devised for Government to execute. is very possibly as good a one as could be devised for Government to execute. A much more effective plan, that presents itself to an American mind simultaneously with the presentation of the work to be done, is simply the renunciation of any government plan. If the French Communes, left independent masters of their own affairs, had been permitted to contract habits of intelligent activity and enterprise by any of the dozen different French Governments last past, they would naturally have done of their own motion, and done better, what the State now has to force them to do. The greatest obstacle that the Government will meet with, as the Ministerial reporters evidently anticipate, is the Ministerial reporters evidently anticipate, is just the inertia and incapacity of the Communes, which its all-controlling administrative centralization has fostered. In this matter of administrative

tion has fostered. In this matter of administrative despotism, there is little to choose between royal, republican, and imperial regimes.

Apropès of agriculture, at any rate not so malapropos as would seem at first sight: Many of your readers have heard of Meyerbeer's last opera, Le Pardon de Ploermel; most of them must also have heard of Ploermel, through that "Poor Young Man," whose miseries, on 6,000 francs a year, as undergone near Ploermel, were eloquently recorded by Octave Feuillet, and republished in elegant translation in the columns of The TRIBUNE. translation in the columns of THE TRIBUNE.
Three nights ago I learned, through M. Crussard,
that there is a real Ploermel, a town and canton of that name, in Brittany. There is little that is operatic about the real Ploermel, absolutely nothing operatic about the real Ploermel, absolutely nothing operatically comic about it, and still less, if that be possible, romantic about it. M. Crussard, who is the least romantic of writers, but who writes with the documents at hand, tells us that the young man who thought himself poor in the receipt of 6,000 annual francs, had a revenue 5,900 francs larger than the average yearly expenses of the inhabitants of Ploermel. "What we want to reveal, and what very few economists suspect," says M. Crussard, is the fact that there exists in France, at least in "is the fact that there exists in France, at least in the ancient and large province of Brittany, numerous cantons, where a million "and more of inhabitants live by labor, without begging and without complaining, on less than "five sous a day per capita." Astonishing as this "revelation" is, its author furnishes apparently rresistible proof of its truthfulness. It would be too long to quote from his interesting article, the sad analysis of this cheap living, of which the meat element (gizzards livers, chitterlings, and all serundously weighed in) amounts annually to less than pulously weighed in) amounts annually to less than twenty-five pounds. This is the average, but as there are some folks, even in Ploermel, who eat meat once or twice, the great majority of its people fall far below the average—indeed quite out of taste of it. "Most of the country people raise hogs and hens, but less for their own consumption than to sell in town and obtain the means of meeting their

other wants. Hardly any one but the townspeople and well-to-do families eats butcher's meat." Buckwheat, potatoes, milk and curds complete the bill of the fare of the majority of the country people. Their houses are as poor as their tables. "It [the Their houses are as poor as their tables. "It [the "house] ordinarily consists of a single room, which "house] ordinarily consists of a single room, which "often has no other opening than the door and "chimney. The floor is generally the earth." And such is the condition of more than a million of French in Brittapy! Truly the Emperor was right in saying that the French agricultural population was much worse off than that of England. How thaukful should we be that, excepting our flour million black agricultural population in the South million black agricultural population in the South, and some poor white trash among the Sandhills, and the lower twenty thousand of our prosperous Northern cities, there is nothing like it in our great

and glorious country.

The annual report of the Minister of Finance was published. It represents the national finances in a highly prosperous condition. The floating debt has been considerably diminished. The balance between the continues to be in tween revenue and expenditure continues to be in avor of the treasury, as it has been since 1855, inclusive, and as it never has been for an equal length of time before, under king, republic, or emperor— with or without help of war loans. The last war loan of 500,000,000 was payable in eighteen monthly installments. On the first of the current month, that is, in little more than six months, subscribers had so much anticipated their payments, that but 155,000,000 remain to be paid in the coming eleven months. The purchases of rentes made by the agent of the treasury on orders sent in from the depart-ments amounted in 1852, in round numbers, to 44,560,660 more than the sales made on orders of similar origin; in 1859, the amount of purchases of this sort surpassed the amount of sales by 146,500,-000. The value of imported and exported merchandise in 1857 was 1,923,000,000; in 1858 it was 3,450,000,000. On the first of January, there were due 433,000,000 of direct taxes (the direct taxes of the year are only legally due in monthly installments), but at that date more than 459,000,000 had been paid in—a voluntary anticipation of 26,000,000.

The above facts and figures are among the most

striking indices of the financial condition of the country furnished by Minister Magne's report. The last rumor from Rome is that the Pope was getting scared enough to show a disposition to talk

bout making some concessions, and "fested an intention of convoking a Council." Poor old man, he is so very slow. The appoint-ment of Fanti, General-in-Chief of the Army of the League, to the Piedmontese War Ministry, under Cayour, may have had its effect on the Papal disposition.

There is said to be great and growing agitation in the Marches and Umbria, the next outside row to the Romagna. The reaction, also, is said to be organizing and conspiring more vigorously of late, under the direction of the Central Committee. Some foolish bodies have been throwing bombs about at Florence and Leghorn; those at Florence were directed at the life of Dictator Ricasoli. They did not hit him, although we do not hear from the clergy that he was miraculously saved, as Cardinal Wiseman and others of his cloth assured us, two years ago, Napoleon was. One feels respectfully curious to know now what his Eminence thinks of that anti-Orsini miracle.

I am told that Mr. O'Sullivan has write pamphlet on the Papal Territory question. "An American-Catholic Diplomats poin "view," which agrees well enough with Napol

"view," which agrees well enough with Napoleon's point of view.

Mr. Rarey is reducing the most demonstratively vicious French horses to mildest mansuetade up at the Napoleon Circus. He has given two or three day performances there lately, before large assemblies. He appears there to-night and to-morrow night as a grand additional attraction to the granustic marvels of Leotard. Leotard is really a wonderful fellow; he starts from one side of the large circus holding on to a trapeze (trapeze is circus Greek for what we boys used to call a swing a round stick the size of a hoe-handle being in place of the sitting-board), and at one grand ware surges through the air half way acress the arens, there, at the hight of thirty or forty feet from the ground, turns a somersault or two, lets go trapeze, takes a fresh start on nothing, makes a volteface, intercalates another somersault or two, estches hold of another trapeze swinging loose in the neighboring air, and sweeps on to his landing-place on the side of the house opposite his starting place, whips about, faces and bows to the audience, who thereupon applaud as though he were the concentrated army of Italy come down the Boulevards.

On the Boulevard des Italiens is a remarkable collection of paintings of cotemporary French artists. Hardly one of them is so low as pretty

collection of paintings of cotemporary French artists. Hardly one of them is so low as pretty, or pretty good, unless you except the Meissoniers, of which there are half a dozen of the artist's best; which there are half a dozen of the artist's best; for is Meissonier's microscopically best a product of ingenuity rather than art, extremely curious, not beautiful? The collection is peculiarly rich in the works of the colorists, Decamps, Delacroix, Diaz, Jules Duprez, Couture, and others. None of them are inferior; some of them—more than fifty of the two hundred—are veritable cheft d'aurres. Any description I could give of them would be neither more interesting nor more photographic than the effort just made to transfer Monsieur Leotard to paper. Indeed, word copies of paintings, even by the ablest hands, are apt to fall into unsatisfactory fluffiness and mere "Correpaintings, even by the ablest hands, are apt to fall into unsatisfactory fluffiness and mere "Gorregiosity of Corregio." But there are some circumstances of this admirable exhibition that can be told in words, and it is for them that I spoke of it at all. The exhibition is made up of contributions from the collections of a few amateurs. In recompense for this temporary contribution of their treasures, they receive the satisfaction of contributing ures, they receive the satisfaction of contributing permanently and largely to the funds of an artists' benevolent society, for whose benefit the entrance fee is paid. The entrance fee is one franc, so that for a dollar one can make five visits to the gallery, for a dollar one can make five visits to the gallery, the number requisite to fairly see its contents. The gallery is provided with comfortable seats, so that, being tired of walking, one may here feast his eyes, rest his body, escape from the rain, wait for a friend, pass profitably the interval between any time and dinner, and draw other profits still for one franc? Now, what prevents you from having something like this in New-York? Some good charity fund handsomely increased, and the con-tributors receiving back more than their meney's

ITALY.

We have just had a repetition of the little melo-

drama, of which the reactionary party in Flerence gave us the first sample at the ball of the Governor

From Our Own Correspondent. FLORENCE, Jan. 18, 1860.

of the League, on the 1st of January, and of which sent you a brief account in my last. Yesterday evening, shortly after sunes, four successive re-ports echoed ominously through the city. This is the hour when every Florentine thinks it his duty to be abroad, and the streets were full of the merry, good-humored Tuscan crowd, who are never tired of gazing at their golden sunsets and purple hills. I must tell you that, for the last two days, an idea has got very general hold of the people, that the hour was fast approaching when the annexation the hour was fast approaching when the annexation would be fully recognized from the Throne, and that the cannon from the "fortezza da basso" might at any moment convey the long-hoped-for intelligence. It was not, therefore, very unnatural that at the first report the crowd should put their own construction on the event. The cry "L'annessione" was caught up by the throng, and ran amid shouts of "Viva Vittorio Emanuele" from street to street, across the Arno, far away to the Porta S. Niccolo and the Roman gate. I was walking at the time in the Via Calzainoli, the long street that leads from the Cathedral to the old. Porta S. Niccolo and the Roman gate. I was walking at the time in the Via Calzainoli, the long street that leads from the Cathedral to the old Piazza della Signoria and Arnolfo's tower. In less than a minute a thousand lamps shone out upon the fading light, amid a forest of tricolored banners. In a few moments, however, the general exultation was changed for a releast general feeling, of resentment and indisa no less general feeling of resentment and indig-nation, when it became known that two bombs, coninto the "caserne" of the third battalion of the National Guard, and two more had exploded close under the house of Ricasoli, the President of the Council. I never saw a more excited crowd than Council. I never saw a more excited crowd than poured down with clenched hands and knitted brows into the Via del Cocomaro, where stands the Palazzo Ricasoli. The neighboring streets and the broad space round the Cathedral were quickly occupied by the battalions of the National Guard, who exerted themselves to the utmost in quieting the passions of the people. In a few momenta Ricasoli presented himself to respond to the chorus of excited voices, "Viva Ricasoli, Viva Vittorio "Emanuele!" These, he said, were the last efforts of a party who felt that their hour had struck. of a party who felt that their hour had struck. Fortunately for the honor of Tuscany their numbers were as small as their attempts were contemptible Let the citizens, however, restrain their natural indignation, remembering that the main object of this and similar acts was to carry away the populace to the commission of deeds which should compromise that calm and dignified attitude which Tuscany had preserved from the first moment of her glorious revolution. I believe that only two persons were injured by the explosion; one a servant of Ricasoli's, the other, a man who happened to be passing at the moment. Several arrests were made during the evening, among others, the Sig-nor Benvenuti, formerly a member of the Guardia Noible, or Grand Duke's Body Guard. The Government had received notice some days before from the "Campanaro," or keeper of the Great Bell of the Cathedral, that an attempt was contemplated. This man had accepted their hundred "lire," to sound the "stormo," or toesin, which in the days of the old Florentine Republic was wont to summon the citizens to assemble in times of peril or emer-

mbitious purposes of their employers.

The resignation of the Ratazzi-Dabormida Min-stry and the return of Cavour to power is received with the utmost enthusiasm. To an Italian, Cavour is not only one of the most skillful of European politicians, he is also the champion who initiated the national movement which is to restere her liberty and independence to Italy. He was the first who took her cause out of the hands of demagogues, sectaries and revolutionists, and raised it to the dignity of a European question. The peace of Villafranca seemed to give a fatal blow to all the hopes of the Liberal party in Italy. seemed to give a fatal blow to all the hopes of the Liberal party in Italy. Austria was to retain Venice, the Pope, his hands yet red with the hideous massacre of Perugia, to be raised to the highest lace in an Italian Confederation, while the Proconsuls of the Empire were to be restored to the thrones which their cruelty and oppression had lost. Under these circumstances Cavour, as representa-tive of the national idea of an united, free, and independent Italy, had but one course open to him, to resign. The late Ministry could never hope to be popular, it ves the offspring of a severe check given to the hopes of the nation—it was the representative of no definite idea—it was identified with no parties of formula and the second of the nation of the n tive of no definite idea—it was identified with no question of foreign policy or internal reform, but was a mere symbol of that period of transition which was to elapse between the peace of Villa-iranca and the regeneration of the idea of Italian Indeper dence. The return of Cayour is a return from a system of temporizing half measures to a bold and progressive policy. This great statesman is the personification of a clear, definite, national

gency. It seems impossible that the reactionary

party should not yet have learned how futile all such attempts must be, that they should still shut their

eyes to the fact that the movement was entirely na-tional from the first moment, and no mere surface storm, got up by a powerful party to work out the